

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 13311 01 OF 03 051632Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----051639Z 018788 /41  
O 051630Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2496

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 13311

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PFOR, US, VN  
SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL TRANSCRIPTION FROM US-VN TALKS ON  
MORNING OF MAY 4, L977

1. PHAN HIEN: I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS TO ASK YOU. IF THE  
PRESS MEN ASK YOU ABOUT THE SRV - STATED THAT VIEW THAT  
THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING OF WAR WOUNDS AND  
POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, SO HOW WOULD BE YOUR  
ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: WHAT IS THE QUESTION NOW?

2. PHAN HIEN: AND THEY ASK WHAT WAS THE US DELEGATION'S  
ATTITUDE ABOUT THAT AND HOW DO YOU ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I HAVE TO ASK YOU ONCE MORE TO REPEAT THE  
QUESTION SO I UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT IT IS.

3. PHAN HIEN: MAY I REPEAT. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU  
THAT DURING THE TALKS THE VIETNAMESE SIDE STATED THEIR  
VIEW THAT THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING THE WAR  
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WOUNDS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, WHAT WAS THE AMERI-  
CANS ATTITUDE. HOW WAS IT AND WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER  
TO SUCH A QUESTION?

HOLBROOKE: WE WOULD REPLY THAT WE EXPLAINED TO THE RE-  
PRESENTATIVES OF VIETNAM THAT UNDER CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL  
ACTION, WE WERE UNABLE TO PROVIDE DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSIS-

TANCE.

4. PHAN HIEN: I AM AFRAID THAT IF YOU ANSWER WILL BE AS SUCH THAT WILL PROVOKE SOMETHING IN HANOI.

HOLBROOKE: WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST I ANSWER MR. MINISTER?

5. PHAN HIEN: THIS IS AN  
YAQFRXKD QUESTION WHICH WILL  
HAVE IMPACT ON THE COMMON ATMOSPHERE AND ... IN VIETNAM.

HOLBROOKE: LET US RESPOND AS FOLLOWS TO THAT QUESTION IF ASKED. WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND HIS DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD IN ALL - TO MOVE FORWARD IN OUR RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. WE EXPLAINED THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID AND POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED ... I SEE THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE TRYING TO GET ACROSS AND I AM LOOKING FOR THE EXACT WORDS TO HELP US ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECTIVE WE ARE SEEKING.

"WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND CURRENT AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD STATED THAT HE WOULD RESPOND WELL IF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE RELATIONS EVOLVED SATISFACTORILY. WE TOOK NOTE OF THE VIETNAMESE SIDE'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. WE DO NOT WISH TO GO INTO ANY FURTHER DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSION."

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6. PHAN HIEN: ALL RIGHT. AND THE SECOND QUESTION. IF THE PRESS ASK YOU WHETHER OR NOT THE US PROPOSE TO ESTABLISH IMMEDIATELY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM AND WHAT WAS THE VIETNAM ATTITUDE. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU SO, WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I WOULD RESPOND OR MR. SMITH WOULD RESPOND: "YES, WE DID OFFER TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WE BELIEVE THE VIETNAMESE SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AS TO THEIR

NOTE: PARA 5 AS RECEIVED.

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POSITION." AND IN GENERAL MR. MINISTER, I DO NOT THINK  
THAT OUR SIDE SHOULD TELL THE PRESS WHAT THE VIETNAMESE  
SAID TO US IN A PRESS CONFERENCE. THAT IS IMPROPER  
PROCEDURE AND WE WILL NOT EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION TO THE  
PRESS.

7. PHAN HIEN: IF I AM ASKED BY THE PRESS MEN OR ANY  
OTHER GENTLEMEN SUCH AS THE PRESS OFFICER HERE IS ASKED  
THAT QUESTION BY THE PRESS MEN, WE WILL SAY THAT POINT 3  
OF OUR 3-POINT POSITION MENTIONS ALREADY THE NORMALIZA-  
TION OF THE RELATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT WAS ONE OF  
THE 3 POINTS IN OUR POSITION AND WE (BOTH SIDES) WERE  
UNANIMOUS ON THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF EARLY NORMALIZATION  
OF RELATIONS PAUSE ... AND THEN I WOULD ADD NOTHING.

HOLBROOKE: MAY I ASK A POINT OF INFORMATION - NOT  
FOR THE PRESS BUT FOR US. WHEN YOU TALK OF NORMALIZA-  
TION OF RELATIONS, ARE YOU AND WE TALKING OF ESTABLISH-  
ING OF EMBASSIES - ARE WE TALKING ABOUT THE SAME THING?  
DOES  
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS MEAN TO YOU ESTABLISHMENT OF  
EMBASSIES?

8. PHAN HIEN: FOR US WHEN ONE SAY THE NORMALIZATION OF  
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RELATIONS, THAT MEANS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS. THE EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS A TECHNICAL  
MATTER THAT WILL FOLLOW THE OTHER PROBLEM, THAT IS TO  
SAY THAT WOULD FOLLOW THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC

RELATIONS.

HOLBROOKE: TO ME NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS - TO ME EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS PART OF THE PROCESS - NOT SOMETHING THAT COMES AFTERWARDS.

9. PHAN HIEN: AS A MATTER OF FACT, AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WE HAVE TO SELECT PEOPLE AS AMBASSADORS, WE HAVE TO ASK FOR AGREEMENT AND HAVE AGREEMENT ACCEPTED AND THEN TO HAVE A BUILDING - OFFICE FOR EMBASSY AND SEND HIM FOR CREDENTIAL PRESENTATION. THAT IS TO SAY IN ANY WAY IT SHOULD FOLLOW ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THAT IS A MATTER OF COURSE.

LIZ VERVILLE: (ASIDE TO HOLBROOKE) IT SHOULD FOLLOW AS THE NIGHT, THE DAY. (THIS WAS NOT TRANSLATED)

HOLBROOKE: THAT EXCHANGE WAS JUST FOR US IN THIS ROOM AND NOT FOR THE PRESS.

10. PHAN HIEN: IN THE FUTURE WHEN WE GO DEEP INTO DETAILS TO DISCUSS COMPLETELY THESE THINGS.

HOLBROOKE: ABSOLUTELY, I AGREE. I ONLY RAISED IT BECAUSE I WANT TO MAKE SURE WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER AND I THINK WE DO.

11. PHAN HIEN: AND THE LAST THING. I AGREE THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE BUT THE TWO SIDES WILL NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO SPEAK ABOUT BACKGROUND. AND FROM NOW UNTIL THE NEXT MEETING LET US MAKE OUR EFFORTS SO SECRET

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THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ANYTHING IN THE PRESS WHICH WILL BE REGRETTABLE. IF THERE IS ANYTHING THAT YOU WANT TO COMMUNICATE TO US WE AGREE YOU CAN COMMUNICATE TO US BY MR. PRATT CONCERNING MATTERS OF PRESS -- OPINIONS OF THE PRESS. IF THERE IS ANY REPRESENTATIVE OR ANY MEMBER OF CONGRESS SPEAKING ANYTHING, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

HOLBROOKE: LET ME BE CLEAR ON HOW THE AMERICAN PRESS WORKS. ONCE OUR MEETINGS ARE FINISHED, THE REPORTERS IN WASHINGTON WILL TALK TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OFF THE RECORD. NOW THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WERE NOT IN THE ROOM AND THEY DON'T REALLY KNOW WHAT HAPPENED. THEY HAVE MANY IDEAS. A LOT OF THE REPORTERS WILL WRITE THINGS WHICH WILL REFLECT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BUT THERE WILL BE NO NAME ATTACHED. THOSE WILL NOT BE AUTHORITATIVE. THIS HAPPENS ALL THE TIME. I SAY TO YOU WHAT THE

SECRETARY OF STATE SAID RECENTLY TO THE AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEFORE HE LEFT FOR MOSCOW. HE SAID "DON'T BELIEVE WHAT YOU READ IN THE PRESS ABOUT WHAT WE DID. WAIT UNTIL I SEE YOU AGAIN AND I WILL TELL YOU WHAT OUR POSITION IS." MAY I ASK YOU A QUESTION MR. MINISTER? WILL YOUR SPOKESMAN BE ABLE TO SAY TO THE PRESS AS YOU HAVE SAID TO US TODAY - AND IT

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 13311

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IS A VERY HELPFUL AND IMPORTANT STATEMENT - THAT VIETNAM HAS NEVER ASKED FOR WAR REPARATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES? I RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE MADE SIMILAR STATEMENTS IN THE PAST BUT NOT WITH AS MUCH PRESS ATTENTION UPON YOU AND IF YOU WERE ABLE TO REPEAT THAT TODAY, I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL.

12. PHAN HIEN: WHEN SPEAKING OF US CONTRIBUTION TO HEALING OF WAR WOUNDS IN VIETNAM AND POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM, WE MAY SAY, AS YOU HAVE PROPOSED, THAT VIETNAM HAS NEVER USED THE WORD WAR REPARATION, IS THAT RIGHT?

HOLBROOKE: YES.

13. PHAN HIEN: SO ALL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED THEN.

HOLBROOKE: I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY. I THINK WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS AND I HOPE THE NEXT TIME WE MEET, WE WILL CONTINUE THE PROGRESS.

14. PHAN HIEN: I ALSO BELIEVE SO.

HOLBROOKE: I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT THE  
STRONG DESIRE OF THE PRESIDENT TO MOVE FORWARD

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AND A FRANK EXPLANATION OF THE SITUATION AS WE SEE IT  
BOTH IN TERMS OF TECHNICAL ISSUE AND POLITICAL ISSUE.

15. PHAN HIEN: I WISH TO ASK YOU TO CONVEY OUR POSITION  
TO PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THE  
EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND MAY I ASK YOU TO CONVEY  
OUR GREETINGS TO CYRUS VANCE, SECRETARY OF STATE; MR.  
HARRIMAN, AN OLD FRIEND AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSON-  
ALITIES AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT I HAVE HAD THE  
CHANCE TO ACQUAINT. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ASK FOR MR.  
WOODCOCK, MR. MANSFIELD, MR. YOST, MRS. EDELMAN,  
MR. (BLANK) AND THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED THEN AND WHO ARE  
ABSENT TODAY.

HOLBROOKE: I WILL DO SO WITH PLEASURE.

16. PHAN HIEN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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